

Kikuyu (E51)[†]

Yukiko Morimoto

001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. n.a.

P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. n.a.

P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 2 V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

i- ihui = 5-leaf

iniũrũ = 5-nose

P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (excluding locative classes)

V. state

17 classes.

See Mugane (1997: 25)[§]

P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?

V. yes

class 15 *kũ*

P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

class 12 (Sg), 13 (Pl) prefix *ka-* reserved for the diminutive meaning

mũ-ana > *k(a)-ana* >

1-child > 12-child (little child/baby)

ru-hiũ > *ka-hiũ* 'knife'

11-knife > 12-knife (small knife)

[†] The phonemic inventory of this language is as follows. Consonants: /t, k, mb, nd, mg, ɲdʒ, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, ʃ, h, β, ð, r, y, w/. Vowels: /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o u/. The abbreviations used in the glosses are the following: 1-17 noun class numbers, 1/2/3.S/P '1st/2nd/3rd person singular/plural', APPL 'applicative', COP 'copula', F 'focus (marker)', FUT 'future', FV 'final vowel', HAB 'habitual', INF 'infinitive', LOC 'locative', NEG 'negative (marker)', OBJ 'object', OM 'object marker', PASS 'passive', PERF 'perfect', PFV 'perfective', POS 'possessive', PROG 'progressive', PRS 'present', PST 'past', REL 'relative' SBJ 'subject', SM 'subject marker'.

[§] Mugane, John M. 1997. *A Paradigmatic Grammar of Gĩkũyũ*. (Stanford Monographs in African Languages, nographs in African languages.) Stanford: CSLI Publications. 194pp.

mũ-irĩtu > *ka-irĩtu*
1-girl > 12-girl (small girl)

P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes 2
classes 6 & 7/8 (Mugane 1997: 25)

ru-hiũ ‘knife’ < ‘(big) knife’
11-knife

P008 Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?

V. no

P009 Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?

V. no

P010 Locative class suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?

V. yes
the locative proclitic *-inĩ* can attach productively

P011 Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?

V. yes
class 16
Ha-ra-kiny-ire si-ana igere (handũ)
16-PST-arrive-PFV.FV 2-child 2.two there
‘There have arrived two children (there).’
class 17
Kũ-ra-kinyire siana igere (kũndũ)
‘Here have arrived two children (here).’

P012 Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?

V. no
Nyũmba-inĩ nĩkwo mami a-ra-ũ-rug-e-ire (rice).
9.house-LOC 9.COP 1.mother 1-PST-3OM-cook-APPL-PFV.FV
‘It is in the house that/where my mother cooked.’ *-e* = applicative

**a-ra-kũ-rug-e-ire*

*(intended) ‘She cooked here’

OK ‘She cooked for you.’

P013 Locative enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?

V. yes

N. *-inĩ* (enclitic) > does not belong to the locative class

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

nie nĩnie ndĩ-ra-ũ-rug-ire

I COP.I 1S-PST-3OM-cook-PFV.FV

‘I am the one who cooked it (=the rice).’

We nĩwe ũ-ra-ũ-rug-ire

you COP.you 2S- PST-3OM-cook-PFV.FV

Ithue nĩithue tũ-ra-ũ-rug-ire

we COP.we 2P-PST-3OM-cook-PFV.FV

3OM = *mũseere* 3.rice

P015 Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?

V. yes

nyũmba-inĩ ĩrea mami a-ikar-aga ...

9.house 9.REL 1.mother 1-live.HAB

‘the house in which the mother lives’

ĩfuku rĩrea dĩ-ra-gũr-ire ...

5.book 5.REL 1S-PST-buy-PFV.FV

‘the book I bought’

mũthuri ũrea mũana wake a-ra-ku-ire

1.man 1.REL 1.child 1.POS 1-PST-die-PFV.FV

‘The man whose son has just died’

P016 Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?

V. yes

mũana wake 'his/her son' *kwa* (my)

1.child 1.POS

ĩfuku rĩake 'his/her book' *ĩakwa*

5.book 5.POS

kahiyo gaake 'his/her little knife' *gakwa*

12.knife 12.POS

nyũmba yaake 'his/her house' *yakwa*

9.house 9.POS

P017 Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?

V. yes

P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

V. no

ĩfuku rĩakwa 'my book'

5.book 5.POS

guũko guũkwa 'my arm'

15.arm 15.POS

mami 'my mother'

mami wanyu 'their mother'

1.mother 1.POS

siongo siao 'their heads'

8.head 8.POS

mafuku maa 'their book'

6.book 6.POS

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 2 yes, with inalienable possession only

A-ra-ni-(r)ig-ire *guũko*

1-PST-1S.O-hit-PFV.FV 15.arm

'She/he hit me in the arm (my arm)'

A-ra-mũ-rig-ire *guũko*

1-PST-3S.O-hit-PFV.FV 15.arm

‘He hit her in the arm (her arm)’

**A-ra-rig-ire* *guũko guwake*

1-PST-hit-PFV.FV 15.arm POS

‘She hit her arm.’

A-ra-rig-ire *metha yakwa*

1-PST-hit-PV.FV 9.table POS

‘He/she hit my table.’

P020 Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)

V. 2 yes, there is a three-way distinction

Mugane (1997: 27-28)

Metha > *ĩno* (this) *ĩrea* (that)

Īfuku > *rĩre* (this) *rĩrea* (that)

5.book

Musere > *ũyo* (this) *ũrea* (that)

Gĩtĩ (chair) > *gĩkĩ* (this) *kĩrea* (that)

P021 Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?

V. 1 yes, always

P022 Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?

V. yes

P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)

V. yes

mũ-thaka

1-beautiful

mũ-nene

1-big

mũ-kiri

1-quiet

P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

V. yes

P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

V. no

N. there is no attributive linker

P026 *-yánà compounding: Is a form related to *-yánà ‘child’ productively used in word formation as the first member of a nominal compound (e.g. to express diminutive or group membership...)?

V. no

P027 Nominal derivational suffixes: Does the language productively use nominal derivational suffixes for the expression of diminutive meanings or feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings? (e.g. expressed by forms similar to -yánà and kazi ?)

V. no

P028 Agentive suffix -i : Does suffixation of the agentive marker -i occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?

V. 1 yes, it is used productively (give examples attesting the derivational process)

to cook = *kũ-rug-a*, a cook = *mũ-rug-i*,
to milk = *gũ-kam-a*, a milker = *mũ-kam-i*
to farm = *kũ-rĩm-a*, a farmer = *mũ-rĩm-i*
to buy = *kũ-gũr-a*, a buyer = *mũ-gũr-i*
to sell = *kũ-edĩ-a* (*kwedya*), a seller = *mũ-edĩ-a*
to read = *gũ-thom-a*, a reader = *mũ-thom-i*
to sing = *kũ-in-a*, a singer = *mũ-in-i*
to play = *gũ-thaka*, a pleyer = *mũ-thak-i*

(-i is used on English words to make them from verbs to nouns!)

P029 Derivational suffix -o : Does the suffixation of -o occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?

V. 1 yes, it is used productively (give examples attesting the derivational process)

to farm = *kũ-rĩm-a*, abroad = *mũ-rĩm-o*
to write = *kũ-adĩk-a* (*kwadĩka*), writing = *mũ-adĩk-o*
to read = *gũ-thom-a*, reading = *ma-thom-o*

P030 Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?

V. no

- 1 *ĩmũe*
- 2 *igere*
- 3 *ithatũ*
- 4 *inya*
- 5 *ithano*
- 6 *ithathatu*
- 7 *mũgũaja*
- 8 *inyanya*
- 9 *kenda*
- 10 *ikũmi*

P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?

V. yes

P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?

V. no

- | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| ‘hand’ | <i>guĩ-ko</i> (class 15), | ‘fingers’ | <i>siara</i> class 8 (hand and toes) |
| ‘small finger’ | <i>kara</i> (class 12) | | |
| ‘finger (big)’ | <i>kĩara</i> (class 7) | | |

P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’?

V. no

- ‘leg/feet’ *kũ-gũro* (class 15)
- ka-gũro*
- 12-leg

P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?

V. yes

N. *ca* [sa], *chai* [shai] class 3 < two different dialects

P035 Inchoative verbs: Is there a group of verbs expressing qualities or states which are lexically inchoative and are thus typically used with a perfect/perfective verb form to express a present state? (e.g. fall asleep, be full, be late, be dirty, etc)

V. no

nĩ a-ra-koma

F 1-PROG-asleep

‘He’s falling asleep’

nĩ ndĩ-a-serero (I’ve already been late=I’m late)

F 1S-n.PST-be.late(?)

mũ-ko makũa mena-gĩko

6.hand 6.my they.are-dirty

mũko makũa nĩ ma-hi(y)o

6.hand 6.my F

mũko makũa nĩ ma-hehu

6.hand 6.my F

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. yes

-wo

e.g.	‘hit’	<i>riga</i> ;	‘be hit’	<i>rigwo</i>
	‘wash’	<i>hora</i> ;	‘be washed’	<i>horwo</i>
	‘hide’	<i>hitha</i> ;	‘be hidden’	<i>hithwo</i>

Nĩ kũ-ra-thak-wo

F 15-PST-play-PASS

‘es wurde gespielt’

Nĩ kũ-ra-re-wo

F 15-PST-eat-PASS

‘es wurde gegessen’

P037 ‘Impersonal’ passive: Can an ‘impersonal’ construction be used to express passive meaning?

V. no

Nĩ kũ-ra-thak-wo

F 15-PST-play-PASS

‘es wurde gespielt’

Nĩ kũ-ra-re-wo

F 15-PST-eat-PASS

‘es wurde gegessen’

P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?

V. 4 by a copula

Maria a-ra-teng’eri-ri-wo nĩ mũrũthĩ

PN 1-PROG-chase-?-PAS by 3.lion

‘Maria is being chased by the lion.’

Mũana a-ra-thabi-wo nĩ mami

1.baby 1-PROG-bath-PAS cleaned/bathed by mother

P039 Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?

V. no

P040 Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

Nĩ tũ-ra-teitha-nĩrie ‘We helped each other’ *teithia* ‘to help’

Nĩ tũ-ra-teitha-ania ‘We are helping each other’

Ma-ra-rora-nĩre ‘They looked at each other’ *rora* ‘to look’

Ma-ra-rora-ana ‘They are looking at each other’

Ma-ra-riga-nĩre ‘They hit each other’

Ma-ra-riga-(a)na ‘They are hitting each other’

Ma-ra-hea- nĩre iheyo ‘They gave each other presents’

Ma-ra-hea-(a)na iheyo ‘They are giving each other presents’

P041 Other functions for -an-: Does the suffix -an- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?

V. no

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?

V. 2 through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a periphrastic construction)

Mũtumia a-ra-he-ire mũana iriyo

1.woman 1-PST-make-PFV 1.child 8.food

Mũtumia a-ra-he-ire iriyo mũana

Mũtumia aratomire mwana arie mboso.

ũratomire ndĩ-re ‘You made me cry.’ *rĩra* ‘cry’

ũratomire a-rĩre ‘You made her cry.’
ũratomire ndĩ-e (ndĩ-ye) ‘You made me eat.’
ũratomire a-rie ‘You made her eat.’

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. n.a.

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

Mutumia a-ra-rug-ire iriyo siana ‘Mother cooked food for the children’
Mutumia a-ra-rug-era iriyo siana ‘Mother is cooking food for the children’

Kamau a-ra-(mũ)-thamb-eria mami wao ngari ‘Kamau is washing the car for his mother’
Kamau a-ra-(si)-thom-era siana ‘Kamau is reading for the children’
*Mutumia a-ra-(*me)-rug-era kanitha* ‘Mother is cooking for the church’
 (-era = applicative)

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

purpose

Mũtumia a-ra-rug-era *ũhiki*
 1.mother 1-PROG-cook-APPL 3.wedding
 ‘Mother is cooking for the wedding.’

P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?

V. no

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. 2 yes, another form

passive *wo* is used

Mũrũthi nĩ mũ-ku-wo ‘The lion is dead.’ *kua* ‘to die’
 3.lion F 3-die-PASS

Mũrũthi nĩ ũ-ra-ku-ire ‘The lion died.’
 3.lion F 3-PST-die-PFV.FV

Mũana nĩ arakoma

Mwana etro

P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?

V. n.a.

??*Ma-ra-hea-(a)n-era iheyo* ‘They are giving each other presents for ...’

**Ma-ra-hea-er-(a)na*

**Ma-ra-hea-(a)n-er-wo iheyo* ‘(intended:) They are being given presents for each other’

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb, 2 by a particle

ĩno ti nyũmba y-akwa ‘This is not my house.’

9.this.is not house my

Kamau ti mũalimũ(c11). ‘Kamau is not a teacher.’

Kamau daragiya gĩthueli. (ti-aragiya) ‘Kamau does not speak Swahili.’

Kamau aragiya gĩthueli

Diaragiya gĩthueli ‘I don’t speak Swahili (c17).’

Jaragiya gĩthueli ‘I speak Swahili.’

Mwana dararĩya museere. ‘The child is not eating rice.’

Mwana danarĩya museere ‘The child did not eat rice.’

Mwana darĩte mũseere ‘The child has not eaten rice.’

Mwana darĩyaga museere. ‘The child does not eat rice.’

Mbarathi derĩyaga nyama (c19). ‘The horse does not eat meat.’

P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb, 2 by a particle

Maria augire (ate) Kamau ti mwalimũ.

‘Maria said that Kamau is not a teacher.’

Maria aresiria (ate) Kamau daragiya (= ti-aragia) gĩthueli.

‘Maria thinks that Kamau does not speak Swahili.’

P051 Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?

V. no

Special negation is used for relative clauses.

Nĩ Kamau ata-aragiya gĩthueli. ‘It was Kamau who does not speak Swahili.’

Nĩ Ifuku(5) rĩrĩ mwana ata-athomete. ‘It is this book that the child has not read.’

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 1 in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 1 in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)

P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?

V. 1 a single marker in the clause

P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?

V. 1 a single marker in the clause

P056 Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?

V. no

P057 First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?

V. 1 yes, in all contexts (all tense/aspect/mood)

Nie ti mwarimũ ‘I am not a teacher.’

Diaragĩya gĩthueli ‘I don’t speak Swahili.’

djaragĩya gĩthueli ‘I speak Swahili.’

P058 Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?

V. yes

Dũka-rĩe museere ‘Don’t eat the rice.’

mũ-ti-ka-rĩe mũseere ‘Don’t (PL) eat the rice.’
Dũga-itege iriya ‘Don’t spill the milk.’ *itaga* ‘spill’

P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like ‘refuse/deny’ for instance)? (see P049)

V. no

Kamau ararega (ate) da-ikara-(a)ga na mami wao
 ‘Kamau refuses that he doesn’t live with his mother.’

Kamau dagĩ-thambera

‘Kamau cannot swim.’

Kamau daga-thambere

‘Kamau should not swim.’

Kamau degũ-thambera.

‘Kamau will not swim.’

P060 Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?

V. yes

P061 Animate agreement: Can animate nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)

V. no

Ngui eno erĩyaga na ithue. ‘This dog eats with us.’

P062 1st and 2nd person plurals : Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?

V. no

J-aragiya gĩthueli ‘I speak Swahili’

Tũ-aragiya gĩthueli ‘We speak Swahili’

Mũ-aragiya gĩthueli ‘You (PL) speak Swahili’

(nĩ) aragiya ‘He speaks ...’

P063 Honorific plural: Can plural persons be used to express a honorific singular?

V. no

P064 Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?

V.

Agreement > plural prefix

Class > with one in higher animacy.

Two elements with the same animacy > verb agrees with the first NP

Ngui na getada(7) si-enja.

9.Dog and 7.bed 10-outside

‘The dog is outside.’

Ngu e-enja.

9.dog 9-outside

Getada kī-enja

7.bed 7-outside

*Ngui(9) na mūtumia me(3pl)-eja/*a(1)-enja./*ci(10)-enja*

9.Dog and 1.woman are 2-outside

Atumia(2) me(2)-enja ‘The women are outside’

Ngui(10) ci(10)-enja. ‘The dogs are outside’

Ngui na mūrūthi ci-egethaka-inĩ (*si* agreeing with the first one)

Dog and lion are in the forest.

Thūfu(3) na museere nĩ si-a-rug-wo

Soup and rice F has.been.cooked

Museere na Thufu nĩ wa-a-rug-wo

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 4 past time has more than three subdivisions

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 2 future time is divided into two (e.g hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal, etc)

Kamau nĩ gũ-thie thukuru(9) omethe

PN F 15-go 9.school today

‘Kamau will go to school today.’

Kamau nĩ a-ga-thie thukuru rūsiiũ.

PN F 1-FUT-go 9.school tomorrow

‘Kamau will go to school tomorrow.’

P067 Suffix -ag-: Is there a tense/aspect (pre-final) suffix -ag- or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?

V. yes

aga habitual, iterativity, pluractionality, intensity.

Kenya tũ-rĩy-aga ngima

‘In kenya we eat ugali.’

P068 Suffix -ile: Is there a tense/aspect suffix -ile or a similar form (as a reflex of *-ide)?

V. yes

P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. ka- prefix)

V. no

Kamau a-thi-ire thoko(9) na a-gũra museere.

‘Kamau went (to the market) and bought rice.’

Kamau e-gũthie thoko na agũre museere.

‘Kamau will go to the market and buy the rice.’

P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker (‘come and V’)?

V. no

Kamau (a-)ok-ire musie na agora museere. Oka=come

‘Kamau came to the house and sold rice.’

Kamau e-oka musie na agore museere.

‘Kamau will come to the house and sell the rice.’

P071 Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext.-FV)?

V. yes

Rĩa ngima(9) ‘Eat ugali!’

P072 Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?

V. 1 yes, the plural is expressed by a post-verbal marker (suffix or enclitic)

Rĩa-i ngima ‘Eat ugali!’

P073 TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?

V. yes

P074 Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?

V. yes

Use of *nĩ*:

- not in negative sentence

- not in relative clause
- yes in subordinate/dependent clause
- not in certain moods

Mwarimũ augire ate Kamau nĩ athambagĩra wega

‘The teacher said that Kamau swims well.’

*Mwarimũ augire ate Kamau (*nĩ) dathabagĩra wega*

‘The teacher said that Kamau doesn’t swim well.’

*Kamau athomire ifuku rereya Mwarimũ (*nĩ) amuheire.*

‘Kamau read the book that teacher gave him.’

*Kamau (*nĩ) dathambagĩra wega.*

‘Kamau cannot swim well.’

Kamau nĩ athambagĩra wega.

‘Kamau swims well.’

Kamau no athambere wega.

‘Kamau can swim well.’

Kamau no mohaka athabere wega

**Kamau nĩ ...*

**Kamau mohaka ...*

P075 Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see parameters P012 & P013)?

V. 1 yes, there are only pre-stem object markers

P076 Multiple object marking: Is it possible to have more than one pre-stem object marker?

V. no

P077 Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a reflexive marker in a pre-stem verbal slot on the verb?

V. 2 yes, by another form

Kamau nĩ a-re-thabia ‘Kamau washes himself’

Kamau nĩ e-thabirie ‘Kamau washed himself’

Kamau nĩ e-rig-ire ‘Kamau hit himself’

P078 Object doubling: Can the object marker and the post-verbal lexical object noun phrase co-occur in the same domain? (excluding ‘afterthought’ constructions)

V. 1 yes, co-occurrence is possible/optional

P079 Subjunctive final -e: Is the subjunctive normally formed by means of a final -e? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)

V. yes

mwanimũ auga (ate) mwana a-kir-e kira=be.still

‘the teacher demands that the child be still.’

P080 Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also parameters P052 and P053)

V. no

mwana nĩ arathoma ‘The child is reading.’

mwana darathoma. ‘The child is not reading.’

P081 Defective verbs: Are there ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection?

V. 2 yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs, such as ‘know’ or ‘say’

ue ‘to know’

Nĩ de-mo-ue ‘I know him, I have known him.’

Nĩ da-mo-ue ‘I knew him.’

di-mo-ue ‘I don’t know him.’

P082 TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?

V. 2 yes, some auxiliaries are restricted to different tense/aspect/but not with a one-to-one match

Kamau no mohaka athabere wĩga ‘Kamau must swim well.’

**Kamau nĩ ...*

**Kamau mohaka ...*

Maria no mohaka athie thoko omothe ‘Maria must go to the market today.’

Maria no agĩrathie thoko ĩra ‘Maria had to go to the market yesterday.’

P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

V. no

Mwana no mohaka akorwo arĩa wakamũira dakorwo d(a)oka musie

Child NO must KORWO eat before I.KORwo I-come home

‘The child must have eaten right before I came home.’

P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. null

Only with main verb.

P085 Auxiliary semantics: Are there auxiliaries which express semantic notions beyond tense/aspect? (i.e. notions which are often expressed by adverbs in European languages, like manner such as ‘quickly’)

V. 1 yes, only in the domain of modality (ability, possibility, permission)

P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?

V. no

nĩ

Kamau nĩ a-ra-thabera

‘Kamau is swimming.’

Kamau a-ra-thabera pulu(9)-inĩ.

‘Kamau is swimming in the pool.’

(*nĩ* is not used in the same progressive aspect, hence not used as an aux)

P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?

V. no

P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?

V. yes by a form derived from a demonstrative marker

Mũthuri a-ikarag-a nyũmba-inĩ ñreya

‘The man lives in that house.’

Nĩjũe mũthuri ñreya aikaraga nyũmba-inĩ ñreya

‘I know the man who lives in that house.’

Ũra t-eith-irie mũthuri teithia ‘to help’

‘You helped the man.’

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ñreya ũ-ra-teith-irie.

‘I know the man who(m) you helped.’

Nĩnjũe thinema(9) ereya mutumia ara(me)ona.

‘I know the movie which the woman is watching.’

OK: *Nĩnjũe thinema ereya araona mutumia.*

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya araromirwo nĩ ngui.

‘I know the man who was bitten by the dog.’

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya ngui eraromire.

(**Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya eraromire ngui.*)

‘I know the man who the dog bit.’

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya mutumia ara(mu)teithirie.

‘I know the man who(m) the woman was helping.’

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya arateithirie mutumia.

‘I know the man who helped the woman.’

(*I know the man who the woman was helping.)

P089 Relativisor agreement: When the relative marker is a separate word, does it agree with the head noun?

V. yes

P090 Subject-Relativisor: When the relative marker is a separate word, can it be preceded by the subject in non-subject relative clauses?

V. yes

‘I know the man that helped my mother.’ (I know the boy that my mother helped)

N. see **P088**

P091 Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?

V. 2 the subject

P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?

V. yes

P093 Resumptive pronouns in relatives: In non-subject relatives, is there a resumptive element referring to the head noun (through object marking or independent pronoun)?

V. 1 yes, it is optional

Nĩnjũe ifuku reu o-ra-thoma *reu* ‘that (book)’

‘I know the book that you are reading.’

P094 Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal (‘when...’), locative (‘where...’), or manner (‘how...’) meaning?

V. yes

Nd-ūtaga wĩra rereya ũ-ra-thoma

‘I work when you learn/study.’

Ndĩrenda kũ-menya hareya ũ-ikaraga.

‘I want to know where you live.’

Ndĩrenda kũ-menya ũreya wa-thomire Gĩthũeri.

‘I want to know how you learned Swahili.’

P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?

V. no

??*Nĩ mũnugo ũreya mami a-ra-ruga ngũkũ.*

‘It is the smell that my mother is cooking chicken.’

Nĩ mũnugo wa ngũkũ eraya mami a-ra-ruga.

‘It’s the smell of the chicken that the mother is cooking.’

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?

V. yes

Dakorwo dathoma ifuku rereya ũ-rĩ-thoma-aga

‘I (just) read the book that you will be reading.’

‘You will read.’

ũ-gũ-thoma.

‘that you read’

ũthomire

‘that you have read’

ũthomete

‘You would be reading’

ũ-gĩ-thoma-aga

‘You should have read (in school by now)’

ũ-gĩ-ra-thomire.

‘You could be reading’

ũ-gĩ-a-thoma a=possibility

‘You had read a year ago’

ũ-a-thomire (> wathomire)

Mugane (1997: 118-119)

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula

Nĩ maria a-rugire ngũkũ(9).

‘It’s maraia who cooked the chicken.’

P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

V. no

Nĩ thukuru-inĩ ...

‘It is at school that most children learn Swahili.’

Siana nyigĩ sithomagera gĩthueri thukuru-inĩ.

Most children learn Swahili at school.

??*Nĩ gũthaka na mĩfila(4) siana(8) siedete. siana=NOT class 2*

‘It is playing with balls that children like.’

Nĩ damaka ate maria nĩ kũruga araruga

‘It is that Maria is cooking that surprises me.’

‘I’m surprised that Maria is cooking.’

Nĩ kahora maria arathi. OK

‘It is slowly that Maria is walking.’

P099 Yes/no questions: In addition to intonation, are there other means used to encode yes/no questions (polar interrogatives)?

V. no

use of *nĩ*

Nĩ kũruga ũraruga?

‘Are you cooking?’

Nĩ kũruga ũraruga

‘You are cooking.’

P100 Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?

V. 1 clause-initially, 5 in situ

P101 ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?

V. no

Ũathomire gĩthũngũ nĩkĩ?

‘Why did you study English?’

P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?

V. 1 an invariable copula only

Maria nĩ muarimũ.

‘Maria is a teacher.’

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 1 of the shape *ni* (or similar)

P104 Copula’s other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. yes

Meanings of *nĩ*: copula, focus marker, agentive by, in questions;

Kamau e nyũmba

‘Kamau is at the house.’

Nĩ nĩ

‘It’s me.’

ndĩ na wĩra

‘I have a job.’

Kamau nĩ arĩ ngari

‘Kamau has a car.’

Ifuku rĩrathomirwo nĩ mĩtumia ‘The book was read by the mother.’

P105 ‘to have’: How is possession (‘to have’) expressed?

V. 3 a lexical verb only

Kamau nĩ arĩ ngari (9) ‘Kamau has a car.’

Nĩ tũ-rĩ ngari

P106 Verb + cognate object: Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?

V. yes

Maria nĩ arutaga wĩra(3). ‘work: Maria works.’

P107 Verb doubling constructions: Are there verb doubling constructions, where a non-finite verb form (e.g. infinitive, verbal base) appears before an inflected form of the same verb?

V. 1 yes, for verb focus

Kũruga, mami arugaga wega. < infinitive verb is LDed – must be separated by a pause.

‘(As for) cooking my mother cooks very well.’

P108 Light verb constructions: Are there complex predicates or light verb constructions of the form beat colour ‘to paint’? (e.g. ‘-piga’ in Swahili)

V. no

nĩ nyũaga ‘I usually drink.’

Ndĩrahũrire mbisa ‘I took a photo.’

P109 Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?

V. yes

Mũarimũ arathomithia siana gĩthũeli. ‘The teacher is teaching children Swahili.’

Siana si-rathomithio gĩthũeli (nĩ mũarimũ). ‘Children are taught Swahili (by the teacher).’

Giũthũeli gĩthomithio siana (nĩ mũarimũ). ‘Swahili is taught to the children.’

Mũarimũ atomaga siana sithome gĩthũngũ. ‘The teacher makes the children study/learn English.’

Siana sitomagwo sithome gĩthũngũ. ‘The children are made to learn English.’

‘English is made to be learned by the children.??’

Mutumia ararugera siana ngũkũ. ‘The woman is cooking chicken for the children.’

Siana sirarugerwo ngũkũ nĩ mutumia. ‘The children are being cooked chicken by the mother.’

Ngũkũ erarugerwo siana nĩ mutumia. ‘The chicken is being cooked for children by the mother.’

P110 Object marking in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object be expressed by an object marker, independently of the other object?

V. yes

<i>Mũarimũ arathomithia siana gĩthũeli.</i>	‘The teacher is teaching children Swahili.’
<i>Mũarimũ aragĩthomithia siana.</i>	‘The teacher is teaching it (Swahili) to the children.’
<i>Mũarimũ arasithomithia gĩthũeli.</i>	‘The teacher is teaching them Swahili.’
<i>Mũarimũ atomaga siana sithome gĩthũngũ.</i>	‘The teacher makes the children study/learn English.’
<i>Mũarimũ asi(8)tomaga si(gĩ)thome gĩthũngũ.</i>	‘The teacher makes them study/learn English.’
<i>Mũarimũ a(si)tomaga siana sigĩ(9)thome .</i>	‘The teacher makes the children learn it (English).’

<i>Mutumia ara(si)rugera siana ngũkũ.</i>	‘The mother is cooking chicken for the children.’
<i>*Mutumia ara(mĩ)rugera siana ngũkũ.</i>	
<i>Mutumia aramĩruga siana.</i>	‘The mother is cooking it for the children.’
<i>Mutumia arasiruga ngũkũ.</i>	‘The mother is cooking chicken for them.’

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with P060)

V. yes

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. 1 Dem-Noun order is attested

<i>mafúkú máya, ifuku rere</i>	‘these books’ (books these?)
<i>maya máfúkú nĩ maku</i>	‘Are these books yours?’
<i>mafuku maya nĩ maku</i>	‘Are these book yours?’ OR ‘These books are yours.’
<i>Mafuku maku nĩ máya?</i>	‘Are these books yours?’

N. the element after *nĩ* is in focus.

<i>mafuku</i>	<i>makuwa</i>	<i>mangĩ</i>	‘my other books’
books	my	other	

**mafuku mangĩ makuwa*

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

every person

mũdũ wothe (person every)

**wothe mũdũ*

Andũ othe (persons all)

Andũ eeri

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V. yes

mafuku makuwa mangĩ ‘my other books’

**mafuku mangĩ makuwa*

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V. yes

P116 Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?

V. no

Mũarimũ arathomithia siana gĩthũeli.

Mũarimũ arathomithia gĩthũeri siana.

‘The teacher is teaching children Swahili.’

Mutumia ara(si)rugera siana ngũkũ.

Mutumia ara(si)rugera ngũkũ siana.

‘The mother is cooking chicken for the children.’

Kamau aratinia mĩtĩ wa ngũ.

**Kamau aratinia wa ngũ mĩtĩ.*

‘Kamau is cutting a tree for firewood(pl. 8).’

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. yes

N. see P116

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. 1 immediately after the verb (IAV), 3 clause-initially

P119 Aux-Obj.pronoun-Verb: In auxiliary constructions, can object pronouns be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. no

Kamau no mũhaka a-kũ-ere we njĩra(9).

Kamau must 1-2sg-tell you direction/way

‘Kamau must tell you the direction.’

Kamau no muhaka a-kũ-ere njĩra we. (‘you’ can come at the end)

Kamau no muhaka we a-kũ-ere njĩra. we=Kamau

P120 Infinitive-Auxiliary: Is it possible for an infinitive to appear before the auxiliary?

V. no

the main verb is not infinitive

Kamau no mũhaka athie reu ‘Kamau must go now.’

Kamau no mũhaka athie reu ‘Kamau should go now.’

Kamau no athie reu ‘Kamau can go now.’

Kamau no athie reu ‘Kamau may go now.’

P121 Verb-subject: Are there verb-initial clauses with subject inversion (e.g.thetic statements or subject focus)?

V. 2 yes, and the verb shows default agreement

Siana igere nĩ si-ra-kiny-ire

Q: *Kũ-ra-kinyire siana si-gana?*

How.many?

A: *Kũ-ra-kinyire siana igere*

17-

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. no

P123 Patient inversion : Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V. no

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

P125 Conjunction ‘and’ : Is the conjunction ‘and’ used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?

V. yes

ngui(9) na nyau(9) ‘the dog and cat’

Ndirathire nduka(9) na ndiragũra mũtu(3) wa gima(9)

I went store and I-bought flour of ugali.

‘I went to the store and bought ugali flour.’

Ndĩrathire mūsie na mami nĩ kũruga araruga-ga (past progressive)

‘I went home and my mother was cooking.’

P126 Subsequent/consecutive: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. no

Ndĩrathire nduka, ndĩragora iriyo(10), ndĩrasoka mūsie(3), na ndĩraruga sapa(9)

‘I went to the store, bought some food, came home, and cooked dinner.’

*nĩ Ndĩrathire nduka, (*nĩ) ndĩragora iriyo, (*nĩ) ndĩrasoka mūsie, na (*nĩ) ndĩraruga sapa*

Ndĩnathire nduka, ndĩnagora iriyo, ndĩnasoka mūsie, na ndĩnaruga sapa [*na*=negation]

P127 Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. 1 yes, optionally

Kamau esiragia (atĩ) gĩthueli(7) nĩ kĩhũthũ

‘Kamau thinks that Swahili is easy.’

Kamau etĩkĩtie (atĩ) Nairobi(9) nĩ ha/kũ-raihu.

‘Kamau believes that Nairobi is far.’

P128 Complementiser location: Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?

V. 1 in front of the clause

N. Examples above in **P127**

P129 Complementiser origin: Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning ‘say’ or ‘tell’?

V. no

Ndĩ-ra-kũ-era atĩ ... ‘I’m telling you that ...’

P130 Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. no

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 2 only by means of a specific tense/aspect/mood

Wathie kenya, no gũthie na we. ‘If you go to Kenya, I go with you.’

Wathie kenya(9) no tũgũthie na we. ‘If you go to Kenya we go with you.’

Ũthie kenya, na nie thie Tanzania(9). ‘You go to Kenya and I go to Tanzania.’

Wathomithia gĩthueli(7), nĩ gũthoma naruwa ‘If you teach me Swahili, I will learn quickly.’

P132 if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. yes

examples above in **P131**

no gũthie na we Wathie kenya, ‘I go with you If you go to Kenya,’

P133 if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. no

Ngui yakoga, nyau nĩ yoraga. ‘If the dog barks, the cat runs.’

Ngui igĩ-yakogire, nyau nĩ yoraga ãgĩ (if, past) ‘If the dog barked, the cat ran.’

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?

V. no

Igĩ-kũrwo na ngui, igĩ-thiaga nayo omũthenya

‘If I had a dog, I would go with it every day.’

Igĩ-sida milioni(9), no kũgũra mũgũnda/igĩ-gũra mũgũnda(3)

‘If I won a million, I would buy a land.’

Igĩ-athomire gĩthueli(7) thukuru(9), igĩ-ikarire kenya

‘If I had learned Swahili in school, I would have lived in Kenya (with no problem).’

P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, onceclause, after-clause, before-clause, etc)?

V. 1 by the use of specific constructions

Menyerera mahiga(6) ãgĩ kua mĩrigo(4)

‘Watch for the stones when carrying the luggage’ ‘Watch stone when carrying luggage.’

Kuma kamau athoma gĩthũgũ, nĩ mũkenu.

Kamau nĩ mũkenu kuma athoma gĩthũgũ.

‘Once Kamau learned English, he was happy.’

Mũana no-muhaka ethabe moko(6) wakamuiira arĩte

Child should 1-wash hands before eating

‘The child should wash his hands before eating.’

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (‘where’-clauses) formed?

V. 1 by the use of specific construction

*Nĩ tũtorenda mosquito-nets(4) mafũrũri(6)-inĩ marea (*nĩ) mahio.*

‘We need a mosquito nets in countries where it’s hot.’

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. 2 by a particular lexical device (e.g. the ‘comparator’ *kuliko* in Swahili)

Kamau nĩ mũnene gũkera Maria mũnene ‘big’

‘Kamau is bigger than Maria.’ *mũnini* ‘small’

P138 SM in non-finite clauses: Can non-finite clauses have an overt subject? (For John to eat cookies is fun / John eating cookies is fun / people to play football is annoying)

V. yes

Mũana gũitaga nĩ kawaida/nomo (‘normal). ‘For a child to spill is normal.’

Maria kũruga nĩ ũndo(3) mũnene. ‘For Maria to cook is a big thing.’

P139 Verb inflection in raising constructions: In raising constructions, can the raising verb (i.e. in the upper clause) and the main verb (in the lower clause) both be inflected?

V. no Only the lower verb is inflected

Kamau ahuana kaĩ/ta emũnogu. ‘Kamau seems to be tired.’

Mami ahuana kaĩ/ta araruga. ‘Mother seems to be cooking.’

Mami ahuana kaĩ/ta ararugete. ‘Mother seemed to be cooking.’

Mami ahuana kaĩ/ta ararugete ngũkũ. ‘Mother seemed to have cooked chicken.’

P140 Morphological focus marker: Can a focussed term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. yes

For subject focus, *nĩ* (same as the copula) is obligatory. Wh-words appear as lexicalized combination with *nĩ* (*nĩkĩ* = what, *nĩ+ũ* > *nũ*=who)

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as ‘too’, ‘only’ or ‘even’?

V. yes

Maria no we (tu) arugaga. ‘Only Maria cooks.’

Maria only PRON(maria) (only) cooks

Maria nowe tu araruga. ‘Only maria is cooking’

No we (tu) woka. ‘Only you came.’

No nie (tu) igĩhota. ‘Only I can.’

Airetu no-o (tu). ‘Only the girls.’

onake Maria nĩ arugaga. ‘Maria cooks too.’

Maria onake nĩ arugaga.

Maria nĩ arugaga onake.

Ona Kamau nĩ arugaga. ‘Even Kamau cooks.’

Kamau ona nĩ arugaga.

Kamau nĩ arugaga ona

P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)

V. yes

N. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ